

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LISBON 01182 01 OF 02 041150 Z

12

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-12 GAC-01 RSR-01 /116 W
----- 103279

R 041045 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7808

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 1182

GENEVA FOR FERGUSON

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XA, OAU, PO

SUBJECT: TALKS BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND AFRICANS

REF: (A) STATE 056746; (B) GENEVA 1428 (NOTAL);
(C) ADDIS ABABA 3472 (NOTAL); (D) LISBON 1003.

1. SUMMARY: RECENT EXCHANGES ON SUBJECT SUGGEST THERE MAY BE SOME MISUNDERSTANDING OF GOP POSITION, PARTICULARLY BY OAU REP SAHNOUN. GOP COULD NOT ACCEPT ACKNOWLEDGED LIBERATION MOVEMENT PRESENCE AT TALKS, AND MAY REFUSE TO TALK IF " SELF- DETERMINATION " AGENDA ITEM IS PRESSED AS PRECONDITION. WHILE GOP OFFER TO TALK MAY BE TACTICAL, WOULD BE MISTAKE TO ASSUME GOP IS ACTING FROM WEAKNESS. END SUMMARY.

2. WE FEEL IT IS IMPORTANT THAT NONE OF PARTIES INVOLVED BE MISLED ABOUT BASIS ON WHICH PORTUGUESE WOULD ENTER TALKS, EVEN SECRET ONES. FOR THIS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LISBON 01182 01 OF 02 041150 Z

REASON, BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR ALL CONCERNED TO REFOCUS ON GOP FORMULATION OF FRAMEWORK FOR TALKS, A FORMULATION GOP REPS HAVE USED VERBATIM EVERY TIME THEY HAVE DISCUSSED SUBJECT AND WHICH CLEARLY REPRESENTS FULLY- CLEARED POSITION BEYOND WHICH GOP REPS NOT AUTHORIZED GO.

3. AGENDA. FOLLOWING IS PORTUGUESE- PROPOSED AGENDA:

" THE ANALYSIS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS OF THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- (1) THE SITUATION IN THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES IN AFRICA AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT;
- (2) RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING AFRICAN COUNTRIES;
- (3) THE GENERAL PROBLEMS OF AFRICA . "

(REFERENCE TO UN CHARTER IS UNDOUBTEDLY INTENDED PLACE TALKS IN CONTEXT OF ARTICLE 2 (7) FORBIDDING INTERVENTION IN MATTERS OF DOMESTIC JURISDICTION OF MEMBER STATES).

4. PARTICIPANTS: WE CONCERNED THAT SAHNOUN MAY BE MISREADING PORTUGUESE POSITION RE PARTICIPANTS. FROM BEGINNING, PORTUGUESE HAVE INDICATED WILLINGNESS TALK WITH REPS AFRICAN STATES, SINGLY OR IN GROUP, OR WITH OAU, AND THIS POSITION HAS BEEN REPEATED SEVERAL TIMES. THUS IT CANNOT HAVE BEEN NEWS TO SAHNOUN THAT PORTUGUESE WILLING TALK TO OAU. HOWEVER, IN LIGHT HIS DESCRIPTION OF " OFFER" HE MADE TO GOP PERMREP PATRICIO IN UN TO HAVE LIBERATION GROUP REPS PRESENT AS " ADVISORS" TO OAU DELEGATION (PARA 2 REF C), AND " OFFER" HE DESCRIBED AS STILL " ON TABLE" (PARA 3 REF C), HE MAY BE UNDER MISTAKEN IMPRESSION THAT " SIGNAL" FROM PORTUGUESE VIA LORD HOME CONSTITUTED PORTUGUESE ACCEPTANCE THAT " OFFER." WE CAN FIND NO OTHER REASONABLE EXPLANATION FOR HIM TO HAVE DESCRIBED HOME- TRANSMITTED " SIGNAL" AS " SIGNIFICANT CHANGE OF POSITION" (PARA 4 REF B). FACT IS, PORTUGUESE HAVE NEGLECTED NO OPPORTUNITY TO INSIST THAT ONE OF TWO CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THEY WOULD ENTER TALKS IS THAT NO RPT NO INSURGENT GROUP REPS BE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LISBON 01182 01 OF 02 041150 Z

PRESENT. IF TALKS WERE TO START AND REASONABLE

ATMOSPHERE PREVAILED, CONCEIVABLY PORTUGUESE MIGHT NOT WALK OUT IF INSURGENT REPS WERE BROUGHT IN WITH APPROPRIATE " COVER," AND IF PORTUGUESE DID NOT HAVE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THEIR IDENTITY (ALTHOUGH EVEN THIS IS DUBIOUS). BUT CERTAINLY EVERY SIGNAL WE HAVE RECEIVED FROM THE PORTUGUESE IS THAT INSURGENT EXCLUSION IS ABSOLUTE CONDITION FOR PORTUGUESE ENTRANCE INTO TALKS. INDEED, PORTUGUESE DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION WOULD PERMIT OF NO OTHER SCENARIO.

5. SECOND CONDITION PORTUGUESE HAVE INSISTED UPON IS THAT TALKS CANNOT HAVE PREDETERMINED CONCLUSIONS. GOP MAY WELL FEEL TALKS WOULD HAVE SUCH " PRE- DETERMINED CONCLUSIONS" IF " RESPECTIVE POSITIONS ON MEANING OF SELF- DETERMINATION" WERE TO BE " FIRST AGENDA TOPIC" (PARA 8 REF B) OR, INDEED, ON FORMAL AGENDA AT ALL. PORTUGUESE ARE INTERESTED IN PRESENTING THEIR CASE TO AFRICANS BUT MAY SHY AWAY IF GIVEN IMPRESSION THAT TALKS WILL ESSENTIALLY BE ABOUT WAYS AND MEANS TO IMPLEMENT " SELF- DETERMINATION." PARTICULARLY SINCE NOVEMBER 1972 UNSC RESOLUTION, PORTUGUESE SUSPECT ONLY DEFINITION GENUINELY ACCEPTABLE TO AFRICANS IS " SELF- DETERMINATION LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE." IF AFRICANS WERE TO ACCEPT GOP FORMULATION OF FRAMEWORK FOR TALKS, FIRST ITEM ON GOP AGENDA (" THE SITUATION IN THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES IN AFRICA AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT") OFFERS OPENING FOR AFRICANS TO RAISE SUBJECT OF " SELF- DETERMINATION." HOWEVER, INSISTENCE THAT THIS HIGHLY- CHARGED PHRASE APPEAR ON PRE- TALK AGENDA MIGHT PREVENT TALKS FROM BEGINNING.

CONFIDENTIAL

ADP000

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LISBON 01182 02 OF 02 041141 Z

12

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-12 GAC-01 RSR-01 /116 W

----- 103214

R 041045 Z APR 73
FM AMEMBASSY LISBON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7809
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES
AMCONSUL LUANDA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LISBON 1182

6. FONMIN PATRICIO CLAIMED TO NEWSOM (REF D) THAT PORTUGUESE BELIEVE TIME IS ON THEIR SIDE. HE ALSO SAID GOP CRITICS REALIZE THIS AND ARE THEREFORE ATTEMPTING TO PUSH GOP NOW TO TAKE STEPS FOR WHICH CURRENTLY- EXISTING INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE WILL EVAPORATE AFTER A FEW MORE YEARS OF PORTUGUESE- INDUCED PROGRESS AND EVOLUTION. IT IS POSSIBLE PATRICIO WAS INDULGING IN BRAVADO. IT IS HOWEVER FULLY IN CHARACTER FOR PORTUGUESE TO BELIEVE THAT HISTORY WILL BAIL THEM OUT THIS TIME AS IT HAS SO OFTEN IN PAST. THEY MAY BE DELUDING THEMSELVES AND EVENTS MAY SO PROVE. BUT IN MEANTIME, THOSE WHO WOULD LIKE TO INDUCE CHANGE IN PORTUGUESE AFRICA SHOULD NOT ACT ON ASSUMPTION THAT PORTUGUESE CONSIDER THEMSELVES TO BE ON THE RUN. PORTUGUESE OFFER OF TALKS MAY HAVE BEEN LARGELY A TACTICAL POLITICAL MOVE, BUT IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO INTERPRET IT AS A SIGN OF WEAKNESS. IT IS NOT PORTUGUESE WHO ARE PRESSING FOR TALKS AND THUS THOSE WHO FEEL TALKS ARE IMPORTANT SHOULD AVOID GIVING PORTUGUESE GROUNDS FOR NON- ATTENDANCE.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LISBON 01182 02 OF 02 041141 Z

POST

CONFIDENTIAL

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts:
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 04 APR 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: thigpegh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973LISBON01182
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: RR
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: LISBON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730433/aaaahpts.tel
Line Count: 214
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 73 STATE 056746, 73 GENEVA 1428 (NOTAL), 73 ADDIS ABABA 3472 (NOTAL), 73 LISBON 1003.
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: thigpegh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01-Aug-2001 by reddocgw>; APPROVED <01-Nov-2001 by thigpegh>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> gwr 971126
Subject: TALKS BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND AFRICANS
TAGS: PFOR, PO, XA, OAU
To: ADDIS ABABA
EUR
GENEVA
LONDON
LOURENCO MARQUES
LUANDA
SECSTATE WASHDC

USUN NEW YORK

Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005